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American Education and American Citizenship

An address delivered before the Associated Alumni
of the University of Rochester by

WILLIAM CAREY MOREY, D. C. L.

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ORATION BEFORE THE ALUMNI

by

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There was a time during the civil war when for lack of volunteers, it became necessary for the government to draft men into the service of the country. As I happened to be a volunteer at that time, I was never able to enter fully into the consciousness of the man who was drawn into the service against his own will. But I have sometimes thought that if such an one should ever fail in the performance of his duty, he might perhaps console himself with the reflection that not he, but the government, should be held responsible for his failure. I feel myself tonight somewhat in the position of a drafted man; for the invitation of your committee was so pressing, not to say imperative, that I regarded it as a sort of command which could not be ignored. And so if my effort should not be deemed highly successful, I shall try to console myself with the belief that your committee should be held liable for my shortcoming. It is but just to myself to say further that your committee not only drafted me into the service, but also suggested the subject upon which I was to speak. If they had only gone a step farther and assumed the pleasant duty of preparing my discourse, and also of appointing one of their number to deliver it, I should have enjoyed the bliss-

ful satisfaction of total irresponsibility. But while I am quite willing to throw upon them all the responsibility which is justly their due, I should be very loth to have them take from me the sense of honor that I feel in being chosen to speak to you on this occasion. When I realize that the large majority of you are those whom I have already met in the class-room, that the greater part of my life has been spent with some of you, that my best thoughts have been inspired by your presence, that you are the friends whose respect and affection I most cherish, I am inclined to thank your seemingly imperious committee for giving me the opportunity to speak to you once more as your teacher—and perhaps still as your counsellor.

There is something inspiring to the teacher who is beginning to feel however lightly the weight of years, to see those who have been his pupils actively engaged in the practical affairs of life, to see them taking an honorable and influential position among their fellows and reaping the merited rewards of faithful service. It is only through the character and work of his pupils that the teacher can hope to attain success. He himself is one whose place is, for the most part, behind the scenes; while it is their function to play the active parts upon the stage of life. But though unseen, he is yet a sharer of their successes, and hears with equal satisfaction the applause which they receive from the world. Though remaining in the professorial chair, he follows them anxiously in the paths they have chosen; he suffers when they fail, and rejoices when they succeed; and he often wonders whether the standard which they attained in the class-room will be maintained in the larger sphere of industrial and professional life. But his greatest anxiety is to know, when they have gone forth into the world, whether they will yield to the temptations which often beset men of power and influence; or whether, on the other hand,

they will fulfill the high duties which rest upon them as educated men,—whether they will rise above the selfish instincts of human nature and become beneficent members of society and the state. The honor of a university rests upon the honorable work of those whom it has once fostered. The greatest achievement of any institution of learning is to make of a man a valuable asset to society; and it has been well said that “a man’s value is measured in terms of service to his fellow men.” It is with a sense of pride that I join with my colleagues to-night in congratulating you upon the records you have made, and are still making in the cause of truth and humanity. No words of mine can express the debt which we owe to you. Your lives are our richest possession; and we shall ever claim the right to point to you as worthy citizens of our great Republic, and as an evidence that the work of our University has not been in vain.

The subject which has been suggested to me as a suitable theme for this hour’s discussion is, American Education and American Citizenship. But as I was not told exactly how this subject should be treated, it is possible that I may not discuss it precisely in the way it was expected. To give some unity, however, to what I have to say I have selected as a sort of text, or perhaps rather the goal which I wish to keep in view, these words of Baron von Humboldt: “Whatever we wish to see introduced into the life of a nation must first be introduced into its schools.” The distinguished author of this proposition no doubt meant by “schools” all educational institutions, whether higher or lower; and would hence have us believe that a nation’s growth and a nation’s character depend to a large extent upon the kind of education it gives to its citizens.

This word “education,” which we so often use and which is made the subject of many learned discussions, is indeed

a word of extensive and perhaps ambiguous meaning. It may refer to the simple training of a child in correct deportment, in habits of obedience, and in the primary use of its faculties. It may refer to the technical instruction which is given to an apprentice to prepare him to do the work of a skilled mechanic. It may refer to the various means which are employed to develop in one the ability to do the professional work of an architect, a lawyer, a teacher, a physician, a clergyman, or a diplomat. Or it may refer, in a still broader way, to the general acquisition of knowledge and discipline of mind whereby one may enter intelligently upon any field of human activity. But however we may define it and whatever may be its special phases, it seems quite evident that all education is but a means to an end, and that that end has some bearing upon human life. And it also seems quite clear that the value and efficiency of education depend upon the extent to which it is adjusted and adapted to its purpose, the final result which it seeks to accomplish. If we lose sight of its ultimate purpose, its telic principle, all our pedagogical theories will soon become "stale and unprofitable;" and our elaborate systems and petty details of method will soon descend to the level of perfunctory routine and fruitless effort. The undue emphasis which is sometimes laid upon uniform and stereotyped methods of instruction, upon dogmatic rules of procedure, with little reference to their ultimate bearing upon life, tend to make of the school a mere mechanism, and of the teacher a mere automaton. We should, therefore, abandon the idea that a blind conformity to some prescribed and rigid set of methods, has in itself any special educational value. Methods may or may not be valuable. Their value depends upon their relative efficiency in attaining the end to be accomplished.

A far greater question then than that concerning educa-

tional methods and processes, is that concerning educational aims and purposes. It may be conceded that these aims and purposes should have some relation to human life. But there may not be an entire concurrence of opinion as to what are the special needs of human life for which the schools may afford a preparation. The views that are most generally held as to the relation of education to life, may perhaps be reduced to two general theories, which may be called the "vocational" and the "cultural" theory. The first, or the vocational, theory holds that the end of education should be the preparation of every person for the special work in life which he is destined to pursue. The second, or cultural, theory holds that the purpose of education should be to broaden the intellect by the acquisition of knowledge, and to discipline the mind by systematic habits of thought, and thus to fit a person for any sphere of life—in other words, to develop a symmetrical and efficient manhood. It would lead me too far from my main purpose to discuss these apparently opposing theories. But the mere mention of them is sufficient to show that, however antagonistic they may appear, they both have in view the fact that every person has some function to perform, some duties to fulfill, as a living human being.

It may not be out of place, however, for me to say in passing that perhaps a more comprehensive theory than either of those mentioned, is that which would combine the best features of them both. Is it not possible for an education to be based primarily upon the "cultural" idea, and yet not to lose sight of the "vocational" purposes of the individual? It is probably true that every one, or nearly every one, of the so-called cultural studies furnishes the principles upon which some vocation is based. For example, the one who has chosen medicine for his calling may find the principles which underlie his practice in the study of

biology, of physiology and of chemistry. He who desires to become a teacher may learn from philosophy, from psychology, and from logic, the laws which govern the operations and development of the human mind. And the lawyer may find an important aid in his professional life from the study of history and general jurisprudence. Indeed, it may be questioned whether any science is completely taught until not only its general principles, but its applications and beneficial relations to human life, are made intelligible. On this account applied science may become a legitimate part of a liberal education; and I am happy to say that this idea is already becoming a feature of the University of Rochester. As a tangible evidence of the progress of this idea, I point to the new building now in the process of erection upon our campus, for which we are largely indebted to the personal interest and zeal of him who is this year president of our Associated Alumni. And I may also be permitted to say that for the introduction of this larger and more comprehensive theory, which recognizes the close relation between culture and vocation, we are glad to acknowledge our indebtedness to him who now occupies and fills the presidential chair of our University.

The statements I have already made are intended simply to emphasize what perhaps may need no special emphasis—that education cannot, in any proper sense, be regarded as an end in itself, but that its value and efficiency depend upon an appreciation of the dignity and demands of human life. But may it not be pertinent to go a step farther and ask, What is that conception of life which should be kept in view in our educational systems? What, in short, is the real significance of human life—what is life for? One of the greatest achievements of modern science is generally conceded to be the discovery of the law of evolution. One of the factors of this law relates to the theory of life—

wherein life is regarded as a universal struggle for existence. As this theory is generally interpreted, those individuals which are best fitted by virtue of superior strength or intelligence, survive; while the weak and less intelligent go to the wall. Life is looked upon as a battle for survivorship and supremacy. And this is supposed to apply not only to the lower animals, but to man as well; and is often emphasized as a stimulant to education. Success in life is looked upon as a victory in the battle of life. To achieve success one must possess the power and the intelligence necessary to triumph over others. If he has not received by nature the requisite amount of strength and skill, he must cultivate and develop it by artificial means. In this way he may obtain an advantage in the inevitable struggle; in this way he may acquire personal power and supremacy, and thus reduce others to a relative condition of subordination. It is by his superior knowledge and mental discipline obtained by education, that he may acquire those qualities which will enable him to outwit his fellow men, and will ensure his preëminence in the world and hence his success in life. This is the *egoistic* theory of life and education—a theory which is based upon the hypothesis that the life of man, like the life of the brute, is a competitive struggle for existence and individual supremacy. So far as this theory is accepted and adopted as a principle of action, it begets the spirit of self-aggrandizement, of personal ambition, of excessive individualism, of antagonism of man against man. It ignores the social instincts of human nature, and enthrones selfishness as the ruling principle of human conduct. It perverts and poisons the spirit of industrial enterprise, and leads to the exploitation of the weak by the strong. It infects and corrupts the political life of the nation, by debasing its legitimate institutions for the advancement of selfish ends—making of the ballot

an instrument of bribery, of parties the means of acquiring personal power and mastery, and of our legislative halls a field for individual and corporate plunder.

But some one may say, However much you may deplore these results, do not the facts of life really justify this theory of life? Is it not true, as a mere matter of observation, that wherever we see human life we there see conflict? Does not the history of the world in fact afford a record of such conflicts and struggles? Yes, this is no doubt perfectly true. It is no doubt true that the history of human society affords innumerable examples of this struggle of man against man—brother against brother, family against family, class against class, creed against creed, and nation against nation. It is no doubt true that human selfishness has been, as a matter of fact, a powerful incentive in determining human relations and human actions. But who will have the presumption to claim that selfishness has been the only or the highest motive in human life? It is a very superficial analysis of human history that finds in its records nothing but wars and rumors of war. No one is more thoroughly convinced than the student of history that the progress of the world has been a gradual triumph of the social over the selfish instincts of men—that altruism rather than egoism has been the most decisive incentive in the promotion of human welfare and in the uplifting of the race. The consciousness of common interests, the willingness to give mutual support, the growing sense of brotherhood—these are evidences that in the higher stages of human life men regard themselves as members one of another, that they are born to help and not to antagonize one another. Every step in the expansion of society, every advance in the growth of a higher political organization is prompted, for the most part, by the social instincts of men and not by their selfish propensities. If we are then called upon to ap-

peal to the facts of life in order to justify a theory of life, we may be obliged to modify the meaning which is sometimes attached to the "struggle for existence." While human life may no doubt be looked upon as a struggle, it is not, in the highest sense, a *competitive* struggle of man against man, but a *coöperative* struggle of men united with men to promote the highest good of all—a common warfare against all the destructive forces which tend to impede human progress and to diminish human welfare. We may thus see that the great practical end of life is not supremacy but service. We may thus see that man has a collective as well as an individual life, that all that is highest and most enduring in his nature can be seen only when he is regarded as a fraction of that great integer Humanity.

This then is the conception of life which we should keep in view when we are preparing for the duties of life and the responsibilities of citizenship—not that it is a struggle against our fellow men that we may win a triumph by their defeat—not a disregard of the rights of others that we may achieve success—not the extortion of the wealth and the labor of others that we may obtain large possessions—not the perversion of the laws and institutions of our country that we may obtain power and preëminence. The life of a nation is the life of its citizens. The body cannot be more healthy than its members. If we would see our nation united and strong, we must cultivate in ourselves the spirit of fraternity, and not of enmity—the conviction that we all constitute one body with common interests, with a common welfare and a common destiny. If we would see our nation the embodiment of justice and honor, justice and honor must first be incarnated in the life of the people. If we would see our country saved from the perils incident to democracy, we must guard with jealousy the principles of justice and equal rights, and keep pure and sensitive the popular conscience, and unfettered and free the expression

of the popular will. The higher altruistic conception which we have attached to human life in general, must also be applied to the life of the nation, and must in fact determine the conditions of good citizenship. It must, therefore, become a factor in the making of good citizens and hence an element in our systems of education. That a national system of education may possess its highest efficiency, it must not be based upon the idea that it is the cultivation of the individual solely for the sake of the individual, but that it is the development of manhood for the sake of mankind—that every accession of power and intelligence which one may acquire belongs, in some degree, to his fellow men—to the state and the nation of which he is a part.

It is no doubt less difficult to formulate a general principle like that which we have tried to express, than to apply it to actual conditions and needs. But a general principle, however comprehensive or true, can have little educational value unless it can be utilized and applied to educational methods. We may admit that, in theory, all education should have some bearing upon life, that the highest conception of life must have reference not simply to the benefit of the individual but to the promotion of the common weal, and also that this altruistic conception of life is the basis and condition of good citizenship. But it is proper to ask, as a practical question, How can this higher conception of life which should enter into the making of good citizens, be introduced as an effective element in our educational system? How, for example, can the student of mathematics, of physics, of astronomy, of geology, of biology, of literature and of history be imbued with the idea that these studies have any relation to human interests, or have any bearing upon the community in which he lives, or upon the nation of which he is a part. He is too often led to believe that the pursuit of any branch of science or department of

literature or period of history, is mainly to add to his general knowledge, to his storehouse of accumulated facts. But is it not possible for him to be made to realize that every study in an academic curriculum has some relation to human interests? It is often supposed that history or literature affords the only means which may be used to stimulate the social instincts and to awaken an interest in human affairs. But the study of every science affords a similar means. Every progressive step in the development of science marks a stage in the progressive development of mankind, and hence has an important bearing upon human life. It cannot be denied, for example, that biology has been a powerful agency in the amelioration of the race, by revealing the laws of life and health, and by giving men a greater control over pestilences and diseases in general. Geology has been utilized by revealing the mineral products of the earth, and increasing the economic resources of man. Astronomy has benefited mankind, by teaching the laws of the universe and banishing superstition from the minds of men. The laws of physics, of mechanics, and of chemistry have been used as levers by which human existence has been raised to a higher plane. Even a mathematical formula, however abstract it may appear in its bare statement, may be shown to have had, either directly or indirectly, a practical utility in the solution of problems which have some relation to human welfare. And so every academic study may be given a higher educational significance if viewed in its relation to man's individual and social well-being. If measured by the standard of educational efficiency, the value of an academic curriculum is due not so much to the amount of information it imparts as to the degree of intelligence it develops—not so much to the acquisition of knowledge as to the gaining of wisdom—not so much to the massing of facts for the edification of the individual, as to the mastery of those prin-

ciples which have some relation to the well-being of mankind.

But it is not merely the human significance which may be attached to the various studies of an academic curriculum that I wish especially to emphasize, but the importance of maintaining those high ideals of American life which should form the distinctive features of American citizenship. And I believe that these ideals, if properly interpreted, will be found to be in harmony with that higher altruistic conception of life which we have already considered. The true ideals of a nation are the incentives which have stimulated its development and determined its place and influence in the world's progress. Every great people which holds a place in human history must be estimated by its mission—by its contributions to the progress of the world. If it has had no mission in the world, if it has contributed nothing to human progress, it is worthy only to be forgotten. But no lapse of time, no debris of the centuries, can erase from the memory of men the name of that people which has contributed something toward raising mankind from a lower to a higher plane of existence. The traveler looks with sorrowful eyes upon the broken columns of the Parthenon, but the ideals which inspired the art of Phidias, the plays of Sophocles, the philosophy of Plato, are still motives in the intellectual life of today. That which made Rome great is not seen in the crumbling walls of the Colosseum or in the denuded pavements of the Forum, but in the ideas of law and civil justice which have become an enduring factor in the world's jurisprudence. We remember Italy for the new birth which she gave to Europe; Spain and Portugal for the new world which they gave to the old; Germany for the revolt against mediaeval superstition and ecclesiastical tyranny; France for intellectual enlightenment; and England for her contributions to modern constitutional and representative government.

Is it possible that America alone has had no mission to perform, has made no contributions to the world's advancement, has no worthy ideals of social and political life to inspire the minds of her people? In the restless activity of the present day and the mental distractions which attend commercial enterprise, we may have lost sight of the primitive and essential motives which have inspired the formation and development of our Republic; and hence do not fully appreciate those ideals of our national life which have furnished the incentive to all that is most exalted in the American character. It has been said by a recent English writer that the American people have come to form a new race. However the professed ethnologist might dissent from this conclusion, it is yet certain that the American people occupy a peculiar and distinctive position among the nations of the world. If they, indeed, hold such a unique position as to entitle them to be called a new race, or a new people in any sense, it is due not so much to their ethnic amalgamation, as to certain ideas which have distinguished them in the past, and which must be maintained to distinguish them in the future. These ideas have been, in fact, new contributions to the modern world. They distinguish the American character and the American system; they have formed the most powerful incentives to our country's growth; they have also furnished an inspiration to other peoples, and have influenced the political progress of nearly every other nation; and they should still be cherished as the stimulating ideals of our American life, and guarded and maintained by every American citizen.

We need hardly to be reminded that the modern world is indebted first of all to the American republic for the realization of the idea of democracy. When our Pilgrim fathers landed on the barren coast of New England, Europe was a congeries of monarchial states. The ideas of equal rights

and political liberty which had floated before the minds of advanced thinkers, became the ideals of the American people. In the process of time these ideals became wrought into a new political system, of which we are alike the heirs and the guardians. This system has withstood the test of years, and we are now living to enjoy its blessings. But do we fully realize all that is involved in a democratic state? Do we realize that a true democracy is based upon the altruistic conception of life—that the interests of one are the interests of all? Democracy is the name for equal rights, equal obligations and equal opportunities. It does not exalt the few at the expense of the many. It calls for fair play and honest dealing. It is based upon justice between man and man, and not upon a competitive struggle for existence and supremacy. It offers no encouragement to that extreme and excessive individualism which ignores the interests of the community and the well-being of society at large.

But we should also notice, on the other hand, that democracy as a social and political system does not underestimate the true value of the individual man. It would protect the individual not only against the encroachment of other men, but also against an undue interference on the part of the government. It assumes that the state is an organized body of individuals, with common needs and interests; it also assumes that every man is a constituent and integral member of society, with personal rights as well as social duties. It therefore recognizes as coördinate the two functions of government—the one to protect the personal rights of the individual, the other to provide for the general welfare of society—and demands that neither shall be sacrificed at the expense of the other. I believe, therefore, that to maintain the true spirit of our American democracy we should guard against the extremes both of excessive individualism, on

the one hand, and of unqualified socialism, on the other; and should recognize the correlative importance of individual and social interests. In order to maintain the altruistic spirit of democracy it is not necessary to ignore the dignity and the inalienable rights of the individual man. In fact, it is the man who has the highest respect for himself and the clearest consciousness of his own rights, that can have the sincerest respect for others, and the most intelligent estimate of the rights of his fellows. The disposition to grant to other men all that we claim for ourselves, is the true spirit of altruism and the real basis of democratic justice.

It is the failure to recognize this perfect correlation of rights and duties, that engenders social, political and industrial strife, and promotes that dangerous antagonism of interests which imperils our democratic system. It is this selfish scramble for supremacy, this passion to triumph even by trampling upon the rights and interests of others, that tends to destroy the universal sense of justice, and to put a premium upon adroitness and deceit and the unprincipled arts of the trickster. We cannot overestimate the importance of intelligence in a democratic state; but if intelligence be not tempered with justice, or the disposition to render to every one his due, it may prove to be a dangerous possession. Believe me when I say that the perils of our democracy are due not so much to the ignorance of the masses, as to the unscrupulous methods of those who use their superior power and skill to deceive and manipulate the masses for their own selfish ends. We should be thoroughly convinced that the security of our Republic rests not only upon the intelligence of the masses of the people, but upon the unperverted conscience of every citizen. It has been well said that the distinguishing characteristic of the American Republic is the embodiment of the spirit of faith in

man, hope for man, and good will toward man. It is, indeed, this spirit of faith and hope and good will, this high estimate which should be placed upon the dignity and the rights of man, both in his individual and in his collective life, that should be cherished as one of the high ideals of American citizenship, and should be exalted as a ruling principle in the minds of those who are preparing to assume, in full measure, its inestimable rights and responsible duties.

Closely allied to the idea of democracy as a contribution of America to the modern world, is the idea of religious liberty—or the right of a man to think and to worship as his own conscience may dictate. I have often thought that the most pitiful chapters in human history are those that record the conflict of creeds—the struggle of man against man for the supremacy of the faith of some, by the destruction of the faith of others. We in our day can have little conception of the horrors of that sanguinary and inhuman conflict. We are so fortunate as not to be able to realize the agony of a tortured soul, compelled to surrender a sacred belief or to face the terror of a martyr's doom. We shrink from the pages that recount the cruel deeds of the elder Simon de Montfort in the Albigensian crusade, and the despicable policy of Philip II in his efforts to strangle the religion of the Netherlands. In that age of political and ecclesiastical tyranny we behold not only the intolerance of sects, but the unholy alliance of Church and State. We witness the fact that it was the despotic governments of Europe that became the most powerful instruments of religious oppression and persecution.

We are now happily living in another age; and we should remember that it was the land that gave birth to the spirit of political liberty that also nourished the spirit of religious freedom. With all due credit to "brave little Holland" for opening her doors to the religious refugees from France

and other lands, it was in America that full liberty of conscience first became recognized as an essential principle in a democratic state. In spite of its slow growth in some of the colonies, it received its fullest expression in the constitutions of the several states and in that of the Federal government. It was in this land of the free that religion became purified of its old time animosities and imbued with a higher altruistic spirit. It was here that the religious rights and duties of men were freed from political control, and the spirit of human brotherhood was made more sacred. The principle of religious freedom is thus a choice inheritance which we have received from our fathers and we should guard it as one of the ideals of our American life. We should, therefore, respect a man's right to his own conscientious beliefs as we respect his right to his own person and property. While we approve of every rational appeal to the religious motives of men, we should frown upon every form of religious intolerance. We should condemn every effort to mix the affairs of the state with the affairs of any church. In the eyes of a democratic state, every religion and every creed—that of the Jew and the Gentile, the Protestant and the Catholic, the conformist and the nonconformist—stand upon a plane of perfect equality, and should exist side by side as fraternal allies and not as hostile foes. And so every attempt to incite an antagonism of religious sects for political purposes should be branded as an encroachment upon our free institutions.

Another important contribution of the American people to the political progress of the world, which should not be forgotten but which I have scarcely time to notice, is the idea of a written constitution. Previous to the year 1776 a written constitution in the proper sense of that term, as a supreme national law, expressed in a single document, defining the form and the functions of government, and

guaranteeing the liberty of the subject against governmental encroachment, did not exist. Previous to that year the forms of national government were everywhere based upon traditional customs; and the rights of the subject, so far as these rights were protected at all, were guaranteed only by fragmentary statutes or unwritten precedents. It was the American Revolution that gave birth to the written constitutions of the American states—the germs of which already existed in the charters of the American colonies, and the full development of which was reached in the Federal Constitution of the American Republic. This idea of a written constitution, as the basis of government and the guarantee of liberty, has now been accepted by nearly all the countries of Europe, and is even being adopted by the reviving nations of the Orient. The advantage of a written constitution consists in the fact that it gives a certain stability to political institutions, by presenting a barrier against the exercise of arbitrary power. It also renders more definite and secure the political and civil rights of the citizen, by furnishing an ultimate basis for judicial decisions. It furthermore tends to foster the sense of democratic equality, by establishing a law which binds alike the humblest subject who toils in the workshop and the highest magistrate who presides at the head of the nation. The American constitution has perhaps done more than anything else to develop in the American mind a high respect for law, and a patriotic devotion to American institutions. Unrestrained liberty and a disregard for law are the harbingers of anarchy, and have no place in the American system. The spirit of lawlessness, in whatever form it may present itself, should therefore meet with the condemnation of every true American. It is only by limiting and equalizing liberty by maintaining the principles of justice under the supreme authority of a constitutional law, that the American idea of government can be fully realized.

My time and your patience are already exhausted, and I can detain you only for a moment to mention what I regard as one of the highest and most important contributions of America to modern statesmanship—a contribution which has already been utilized by other countries and may in the future prove an inestimable benefit to the world at large—I mean the idea of federalism. The gradual development of a true federal state is one of the most distinctive features of our political history. There are two general methods in which a large state may be developed from smaller states—the one is by conquest, the other by federation. In the one method, we see a competitive struggle between states for supremacy, which results in the victory of one and the subjection of others. In the other method, we see the recognition of equal rights among states, and their voluntary union into a larger political society, in which the interests of one are regarded as the interests of all. Conquest is the result of what might be called an exaggerated form of political egoism. Federation is the outgrowth of an exalted phase of political altruism; it is, in fact, the principle of democracy applied to a group of states. All the great states of antiquity—Assyria, Persia, the Empire of Alexander, and the Roman Empire,—and until recently all the great states of mediaeval and modern Europe,—the empire of Charlemagne, the old German Empire, Spain, France, Great Britain, and Russia,—all obtained their preëminent position through conquest, or the struggle for supremacy. The American Republic is the first great nation in the world's history to develop a wide territorial dominion by the adoption of the federative principle. It is here that we see the first successful and permanent union of free and independent states, upon the basis of political equality, and under a common sovereignty in which all have an equitable share. The maintenance of the common authority of the nation in

all those matters which concern the common interests of the nation, and the protection of the authority of every state in all those matters which concern itself alone,—this is the ideal of American federalism. To understand fully and to uphold faithfully the essential features of this political system should be the duty and the ideal of every patriotic citizen.

But if the American citizen appreciates, in its largest sense, the altruistic conception of life, he will realize that his duties and his interests are not limited by the boundaries of his own country,—but extend to all mankind. The ideals of America are fast becoming the ideals of the world. Democracy has already become the basis of nearly every civilized state. Religious freedom has triumphed in countries which were once stained with the blood of martyrs; and the country which still persists in religious persecution is stigmatized by the conscience of mankind as barbarous and brutal. Written constitutions have been accepted by nearly every people as the only means to secure political liberty and civil rights. And the idea of federalism is now looked upon by philanthropists and statesmen as the only rational and permanent substitute for war, by which the competitive struggle between the nations may be superseded by a coöperative effort to establish by peaceful means the universal reign of justice. It is on this account that the American is, in a certain sense, a participant in the progress of the world. And it is for the reasons which have been mentioned that I believe that American education should be based upon that high conception of life whereby a man in becoming a citizen may realize that he is living not only for his own sake, but for the sake of his country and for the sake of mankind.

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